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OF

THE COUNTRY

IN THE

MONTH OF NOVEMBER,

1794.

By ABRAHAM JONES. R

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. OWEN, NO. 168, PICCADILLY,
AND B. CROSBY, STATIONER'S COURT.

STATE

THE COUNTRY

MONTHLY

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III.



S T A T E
OF
THE COUNTRY

THE late disastrous and disgraceful events of the war, together with the convulsed and dangerous situation of the country at home, have produced a degree of astonishment and terror in the public mind; which is at least unaccountable under a system so perverse, and so corrupt an administration, as those by which we have so long suffered, and of which we have so often complained.

While these remain, and till that is abandoned it will be altogether absurd to be surprized at any reverses, and our very anxiety and apprehension ought to guard us from panic and abject fear.

A very short retrospect will convince us that all our misfortunes have been merited and foreseen; that they derived in a right line from the abuses

of our constitution, from the corrupt influence of the Court, the aristocracy of the House of Commons, and the obstinacy, ignorance and treachery of Ministers.

After the expulsion of General Dumoriez from Holland, and the consequent security of the United Provinces, the war became entirely divested of any national cause or plausible pretext; and if a peace in all its forms was difficult to be obtained, there remained no doubt but that hostilities might, and ought thenceforth to have been conducted upon our part upon a plan of defence for our allies, and of maritime enterprize for Great Britain.

It was foreseen by those who had coincided in the necessity of repressing the secret poison, and avowed hostilities of France, that a war of ambition and dismemberment would necessarily prove fatal to the powers which were to engage in a project so absurd and unjust, and that the greatest force of the new Republic would soon arise from those very armies which surrounded and compressed her. It was proposed to temper and moderate our efforts in proportion to those of France, and to do no more than was necessary to foil and defeat her in all her plans and expeditions.

A republican government, it was contended, might be more easily *disappointed* than destroyed,
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and it was asserted that men who had only a fugitive and precarious possession of authority would instantly despair, or become indifferent to the event of remote and uncertain designs, which could only be executed by their successors, and of which, if ever they were completed, the merit and the advantage would accrue to new deputies and future conventions.

The whole scheme of continental warfare was attributed to a predetermined scheme of corruption, and to a criminal contract between the Court and the Ministry, by which the hope of a Parliamentary Reform, and of reducing the influence of the Crown, was sacrificed to the promise of impunity for any wickedness, and perseverance under every error and misfortune.

The miscarriages of the war were imputed not only to this infamous bargain, and to the system of extravagance and corruption from which it derived, but to the preponderance of the *ministerial family* and dependants in the King's cabinet, their total ignorance of foreign affairs, and their violence at home. They were ascribed to their personal arrogance, presumption and imbecillity; and above all, to the reciprocal protection and indemnity they were enabled to afford each other under every accusation of indolence, neglect and incapacity.

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These charges and complaints seemed the more serious, and doubtless they caused the greater sensation in the mind of the People, because they were not preferred by men disaffected to the Constitution, or desirous of innovations; but by such as lamented and reprobated, with equal courage and sincerity, the corruption and depravity which were common to both parties, and dishonoured, not only the Factions, but the Country. The conduct of the Minister was not arraigned by such as were interested or determined to find fault, but by those who were no longer able to wink or dissemble, by those who had supported him till this time, and who now opposed him reluctantly, and with great forbearance and temper; in a word, by the original friends and advocates for the declaration of war, and the avowed enemies of the French politics and pretensions.

Their opinions, too, had evidently the more weight and effect, because there could be no doubt of their loyalty and affection to the Family on the Throne, or to the Revolution which placed it there: all they proposed was, to bring back things to the forms established at that period, and to the spirit and meaning of those great Englishmen who matured and accomplished it.

The disasters of our Commerce, the neglect of Convoys, the unaccountable disposition of our Maritime

ritime Forces, the supine and bestial stupidity of the Admiralty, and the impunity of particular Boards [and their Presidents, together with our disgraces at Dunkirk, and our disappointments at Toulon, were indeed among the details and particulars of the great mass which they brought forward of public discontent and misfortune; but their principal attack was directed with great vigour and address against the COURT, as the great *mobile*, not only of the system and duration, but of the miscarriages and misfortunes, of the war.

The COURT was held up in all these points of view to the suspicion and jealousy of the Nation; and the public contempt and hatred were excited and directed towards it, by the exposure of its filthy composition and deformity, and by connecting it with the perverted system of Representation, and the systematic perversion of Parliament.

It was defined to consist, not only of that taudry and contemptible mob which surrounds the Sovereign, excluding the wisest and best part of the Nation from his presence, and debarring his access to the virtuous and unhappy; but of every man, whether he voted with or against the Minister, who enjoyed a sinecure or a pension---of every one who was separated by the bribery or the influence of the Crown from the common interest of the People of England. It was painted as extending
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and spreading itself in endless windings and ramifications, from the Lord Chamberlain of the Household to the Tidewaiter of the Customs, and from the sinecures of Lord Hawkesbury to the runners of the Excise ; tainting and polluting the sources of liberty, morality, and public virtue, wherever its succours reached, and its scyons pullulated. The general unhappiness of the People, their dreadful burthens, their unparalleled hardships and sufferings, their discontents, their errors, and their *imputed treasons*, were all ascribed to this execrable cause, and, above every thing it was charged with, seemed to stand in the head and front of the Indictment, a tyrannical mockery of our sufferings, and a cruel contempt of our understanding and sentiments.

The persons who held these opinions, so hostile and so formidable to the Court and the Civil List, were careful to distinguish their enemy from the Parliamentary Aristocracy or Peerage of the Kingdom : they reviled and vilified the Court, because it was *unconstitutional* as well as corrupt ; and they asserted, that the CONSTITUTION could only be secured or redeemed by reducing its volume, which they prescribed, or by a total amputation, which they threatened.

The basis of the British Constitution, they said, was evidently Representative ; and they contended, that no time could sanction those abuses by which the
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Court deputed the Members of Parliament, and nominates the Delegates of the Nation ;---those Delegates whose duty and privilege it is to controul and repress its own enormities and excesses.

They revoked in doubt, and questioned the legality of that Act of Parliament which entailed Septennial Legislatures upon us: Since that period, they asserted that corruption, conquest and the Court, together with the cowardice, treachery and prodigality of our Representatives, had renewed every grief, and torn open every wound, which had been closed by our ancestors at the Revolution.

To this glorious epoch of our history they constantly recurred and appealed; and they pretended that we had not banished a Tyrant and his Race, merely to substitute other modes of oppression, and found a baser despotism upon the pillars of fraud and corruption.

To Septennial Parliaments they did not only impute our internal disorder and decay, but all our German and Continental schemes of warfare and ambition, as well as the long and systematic plots of the Court against Liberty, which had impoverished and dismembered the Empire, by the final loss and separation of our Colonies.

The Middlesex Election, and the American War, they said, were not the latest blessings we owed, to Septennial Parliaments; we were persevering, they affirmed, in a more expensive, a more disgraceful, a more bloody, and a more disastrous War, for which all our gratitude was due to the same fatal cause.

To this they ascribed the impunity of so many wicked and ignorant Ministers, and the negligence and absurdity with which the War was conducted; to this, the dangerous enormity and criminal uses of the Civil List, the scandalous corruption of the Legislature, the avarice and audacity of the Court.

If they did not forbear entirely to hold up individual characters to the public contempt and execration, (for there were some exceptions in cases so flagrant and glaring as the entail of the produce of a public imposition upon the Duke of Richmond and his Family, and the insatiable pluralisms of Lord Hawkesbury), they were careful in general to avoid entering into the doctrine of Resumptions; which ought no doubt to be a very late resource of the Country, and in no case to precede the sentence of the Law upon delinquents. And though one of these instances was drawn from the times of Tyranny, and the other formed a principal

pal feature in modern abuse and depravity, they were selected, it appeared, rather for reformation than punishment, and they called louder for redress than atonement.

The King's servants, however, were not insensible to a danger which peculiarly regarded themselves; and they retorted with eagerness the charge of levelling and invading property upon their accusers, who in fact had but feebly dared to claim the *accruing* rents of the Public without retrospect, and pretended only to cut off the entails which had alienated them, as the price of vice and prostitution, and the reward of servility and crimes.

Nothing, it is to be confessed, seemed more probable, than that a Reform in the duration of Parliament might ultimately produce the resumption of those unjust and destructive grants and sinecures, which are so oppressive and so odious to the Nation, which wring the reins of industry, and grind the faces of the poor.

No wonder, then, that the Court, insulted and alarmed, was determined to defend its extortions by any means, and by those of recrimination in particular: but it had miscalculated its measures, and mistaken the circumstances of the times and the tenor of opinion; for its injustice and rapacity were

now become so palpable and so enormous, that the public seemed disposed to catch with eagerness at the hope held out to them, and its own accusations had endeared its enemies to the country.

“ In the pretended anxiety for property, it was said, that it would not be misplaced if we could discover the least solicitude or tenderness for the property of the people, if we were not daily plundered and pillaged by the fanatical crusade of Kings and Courtiers, and by the rapacity of Placemen and Pensioners: And in the universal disbelief of plots and conspiracies, with the pretences of which Ministers have so long disturbed and agitated our bosoms, it would be happy, they affirmed, if we could reject the charge of a conspiracy against Liberty, and treasons against the People.

“ It was absurd, and ridiculously absurd, to pretend an anxiety and adoration for the Constitution, and to discover or profess a contempt and hatred for the people. These sentiments are incompatible and irreconcilable in the same breast; the Constitution and the people will for ever have the same friends and the same enemies.

“ A nation never complained without cause, or was unhappy without the existence of real and
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pungent oppressions. It was absurd in Ministers to charge all our discontents upon our ill-humours, as if we were infants, and ignorant of our own good. It was cruel to tell us we desired our own harm and misery, and to insult, as well as refuse our petitions.

“ How could many millions of men, dispersed, they said, over the surface of this exhausted country, agree to be discontented, or stipulate to be unhappy? what pretended or mistaken interest could be common and universal in every distant nook and corner of the kingdom, or compel us all at once to demand the dismissal and impeachment of wise and virtuous Ministers, or the conclusion of a fortunate and glorious war?

“ Was ever any nation weary of successes, and disgusted with prosperity and victory? Did ever a people complain of the moderation of its Governors, the fidelity of its Representatives, the lightness of its burthens, and the good conduct of its affairs?”

Far, however, from profiting by the discovery of their error, the servants of the Crown persevered in the design they had formed; and every man who opposed or detected them, was very soon distinguished

distinguished by the appellation of Jacobin, Republican, or Regicide.

In a state where so much disaffection, and such a spirit of mutiny, were asserted to prevail, it was natural to expect plots and insurrections; but the Court did not possess the patience to expect them;---its own spies are the only Traitors the Nation has discovered.

The execution, however, of one of them, who had swerved from the line prescribed to him, struck a salutary terror into others; and the electric stroke given at Edinburgh, was sensible at the Crown and Anchor.

It was equally consoling to the lovers of British liberty, and to the friends of human virtue and happiness, that amidst the heap of corruption, venality and egotism which the Court has spread amongst us, a jury could be found, and that in the defective and partial manner in which the Freeholders are assembled, who possessed virtue and integrity sufficient to resist the criminal eloquence of the prosecution and the Court, and resolution to vindicate the nation from the foul aspersions and calumnies of the Government.

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From their verdict it resulted in the first place, that the Ministry had calumniated the nation in charging it with views hostile to the Monarchy, and still more so in charging us with all the crimes of Jacobinism, because we had dared to demand Reform, and the redress of those abuses with which the Court and Long Parliaments have impaired and disfigured the strength and beauty of the Constitution.

In the course of the trial, many things occurred deserving of profound consideration. It was new (as new as a trial for cumulative treasons in a land of law and liberty, in a land where treasons had been defined and confined many centuries past, by the legislature, which at that period seems to have represented the people) I say, it was novel and extraordinary to hear the lawyers of the Court confessing the disorders, corruptions and abuses of the Government, and devoutly praying for their correction and reform, yet at the same time pressing the condemnation and execution of others who had desired the same thing.

It was new and extraordinary to hear men versed in the habits of legal subtlety, and conversant with the seductions of the Court and the factions

factions of the Ministry, debating gravely, in a tribunal of criminal justice, in a trial for life and death, and before a sworn jury of Englishmen, whether it were more probable that these abuses, corruptions and disorders had only urged and irritated the people to demand a legal and temperate remedy, or had swelled to that intolerable bulk and volume that they had exhausted and wearied the public patience and sentiment, and forced our misery and despair to demand a total change and new foundations of Government.

Foreigners, are deceived, thank God! in over-rating our corruptions and depravity. Even our septennial Parliaments will not vote our ruin and slavery, except by piece-meal, by gradations and intervals; and though juries may be prevailed upon to condemn an imprudent or impatient Reformer to a long exile, they will still hesitate upon human life.

Our institutions have yet some vigour left in them, and Ministers have but erected an imperfect throne upon the prostrate character of the country.

The defeats and treachery of all our allies, the retreat and nullity of our own army, its danger,
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the difficulty of our communication with it; the distresses of our commerce, the paralytic indolence of the Admiralty, the inutility of our Fleet, and the public discontent and disappointment at the absurd and puerile management of our foreign affairs; the subsidy paid to Prussia, and continued after the acknowledged perfidy of that Court, as if it had been designed for no other purpose than the subjugation of Poland; all these untoward circumstances, which rendered their situation so critical, and their persons so unpopular, were not able to induce the King's servants to repress or suspect the interested vigilance of their informers.

Still the Nation remained divided and perplexed, united only in the sense of its danger and unhappiness, but uncertain, and suspicious of measures and of men.

The benevolence, or subscription, as the partizans of Ministers affected to call it, together with the process against the Press, and the proscription of opinion, had introduced a real schism into the Country! Those who had been intimidated, or who had contributed, considered all who maintained different opinions as mutinous and disaffected, while they passed in their turn with a great majority of the Country, for the betrayers of the Constitution, and the abettors of an illegal and despotic authority.

Spies had been introduced, not only into frequented haunts, but into the recesses of society: conversation was proscribed, and opinion interdicted or dangerous, every Coffee-house had its Informer, every family apprehended a Traitor in its own bosom.

The system of terror had been adopted in England with a double policy; the terror of French arms had first been inculcated, and the Liberty of expressing English principles was soon after proscribed: The first acquired weak Friends to the Ministers, the second was intended to intimidate the most formidable of their opponents.

A new species, and unknown descriptions of Treasons were invented and promulged, and the Scaffold was held up in perspective to all who should dare to compare their opinions, and unite to express their grievances, or to procure the redress of them.

On the other hand, the terror which had been artfully created, and the resentment which was unavoidable, had not only affected those, who beheld in the measures of Government, the extinction of all Liberty and the flames of the constitution; but the sentiment of pity for men, whose crimes were of so late and novel a construction, had taken deep root in the public mind; so that the Ministers
were

were not altogether to blame in their policy, if they were determined upon a victim, in selecting one of their own odious informers; any other might have been regarded as a *Martyr*.

Such I believe is pretty nearly the internal situation to which the schemes of the Ministry have reduced this unfortunate Country. Every honest, every feeling mind has bewailed our miseries, our distractions, our disgraces. We have all suggested our remedies and nostrums for the foul disease that preyed upon our constitution, regulars and empirics, quacks and Licentiates, we have all prescribed for the Patient expiring under our hands: but we have been hindered from administering our medicines, sometimes by the pretended feebleness of the sick, and frequently by our own disputes and contentions. Yet in one thing we were all agreed, that whether our emaciated and palsied frame were capable or incapable to sustain the searching alterative, the powerful mercury, which alone could cleanse our corrupted blood, and chase the subtle poison that infected it, still it could not be prudent or necessary to enflame encourage and augment it.

This poison, this nauseous cancer is the COURT, it is the swarm of hirelings, and dependants of the Crown, the Aristocracy of the Palace and the Exchange,

change, the crouds that live by War and Taxes, that surfeit in the sweat and gore of England: the COURT is the lousy distemper of the Government, which generates and ferments in every limb, in every joint, in every extremity of the State. It creeps and rots every where, corrupts and pollutes every thing, and covers the fair and wholesome surface of our political body, with vile and prolific insects, issuing from our own pores, decomposing and dissolving the very atoms of our Constitution.

Ministers, unhappily for this Country, have been so uniformly, at least, so generally flagitious and corrupt, that their crimes and vices have long become stale and familiar to the Public, and are supposed to attach by an invincible fatality to their office and situation.

I will not enquire at present into the Truth or Justice of this Construction, so favourable to the present Servants of his Majesty; they are welcome to the full benefit that can derive from it, and to the advantage (they owe to the tenderness and sollicitude of their predecessors) of not being able to exceed them in any individual act or degree of depravity and folly, of extravagance or corruption; let them be grateful to that parental anxiety and precaution which has left it impossible for them to distinguish themselves, from those to whom they have succeeded,

ceeded, except alone in the assemblage and accumulation of all their iniquity and wickedness, with an impudence indeed, and hypocrisy peculiarly and altogether their own.

The venality of Walpole, the pride and turbulence of Granville, the meanness of Bute, the cowardice of Grafton, the versatility of North, and the factiousness of Chatham, had composed but a weak and imperfect potion, if they had not been amalgamated and concocted with the ignorance of Pitt, the meanness and avarice of Hawkesbury, the apostacies of Dundas, and the stupid terrors of Portland. Burke the humane, and Wyndham the religious, added to the cauldron, made the charm complete, and the gruel thick and slab.

Thus composed and endowed, and favoured besides by circumstances which rendered treachery more fatal, and perfidy more vile and flagitious, the King's servants were enabled to arrive at the very summit and pinnacle of Ministerial celebrity, to establish their pre-eminence over all their predecessors, destroy the Saturnian age of corruption, and institute an iron age in the mythology of Courts.

I leave

I leave to some Lucian or Aristophanes amongst us to paint the traitor Jupiter stabbing the milch-goat that reared him, our Wyndham Mars, our Neptune Chatham, and the Alterna Regna of Pitt and Portland.

Pareille aversion & contraire fierté!

I leave this new convention of political paganism, unworthy of serious examination or censure, to the lash of ridicule alone. It is more important than to enquire into its Councils and objects, to consider what must be the language of a wise and virtuous man, if such a one were permitted to approach the Thrones of Europe, and to address the Princes that reel or totter in them. I propose afterwards to conclude these pages with a few words, which seem to be the fittest for me to pronounce, and the advice the most expedient to be followed at the present dangerous and guilty period, by the people of Great Britain.

“*Sir,*” I imagine such a Man would say to the Sovereign he was addressing, “it is vain as well as wicked, it is cruel as well as weak, to oppose yourself to the current of human opinion, and to muster a few interested and insulated votes, against the general voice and suffrage of mankind. The feudal

dal reign of ignorance, with its gothic train of prejudice and folly is no more; even now, while your cabinet discusses, and your Minister harangues, the great Revolution is effected, has taken place, is realized before your eyes. Do you not perceive that it is realized the very moment that we debate and deliberate upon it; that it is inevitable *because* we discuss and examine it? there are no Slaves that reason, nor Tyrants who enquire. You have been forced to contribute to these innovations, and to lay the first stone of these new systems with your own hands.---Repent not of it.---It is the first reparation you have made to humanity: Joseph the Second and Louis the XVI. have done more for human liberty and amendment, than all the Voltaires and Rousseaus that ever existed; the old fabric of vandal governments has fallen by no rude or vulgar instruments, it is reversed by the hands of heaven and by the labours of Princes.--The torch is held every where to these systems of barbarism and darkness; let them fall before the light alone, ---before the flame can reach them.

“Incline, Sir,” would he continue, “to the bent and bias of your Country, be not ashamed to obey the will of the Nation, nor to recognize the authority which has placed you on the Throne; your People Sir, are enlightened; will you blush to be so? still
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take the lead, still govern them, preserve the glorious pre-eminence which chance has given you, and be foremost in wisdom and virtue, as you have long been in power.

“Fear not a Revolution, *Sir*, which originates neither in ambition, nor in hostility ; it cannot be fatal to good Princes, it need not be fatal even to bad Ministers ; it arises in the progress of knowledge, in the Devellopement of the human mind, in the expansion of science, and the dilatations of integrity and virtue. There is nothing to dread but from a weak and criminal resistance ; we have forgiven all the past ; the bright and glorious prospect before us extinguishes the very memory of what has preceded. Your Ministers, *Sir*, are already forgiven, unless they irritate by new crimes and useless opposition. If they will not capitulate or accept of mercy, we cannot be to blame ; if they force us to enter at the breach, and storm them in the citadel itself, we cannot answer for the fury of the people smarting with injuries and wounds ; made mad with wrongs, and even with victory.

“Disappoint, *Sir*, disappoint the hopes of malevolence, the schemes of animosity and revenge ; snatch the victims your Ministers are still preparing to offer upon their deserted altars, upon the druidical

dical stones of ignorance and barbarism ; what public purpose, what contracted end, even of contemptible policy, can it answer to snap up every imprudent or impatient individual who may chance to swerve from the course of the revolution? We are all travelling one way, and are companions of the same journey ; if some of us are pushed out of the course, or hurried forwards, why regard them as enemies, why revel in their blood ?

“ We are willing to shew your Ministers a pity they never felt ; why will they oppose the exercise of mercy, they so soon may demand of us ? Fear not even for them, Sir ; a great nation will know how to forgive ; revenge and persecution are the vices of feraglios and courts ; think not so much of the crimes of your Ministers as to forget the virtues of your people.

“ Nothing is more glorious, says the great master of history and politics, than a Prince offended with impunity.

Nihil est gloriosius impune leaso principe.

“ But Ministers have no prerogative, no privilege, no principle of forgiveness ; rescue the strays and wanderers of the revolution from their fangs, recall them to their flock, be our Shepherd, our Fa-

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ther still. It is our will to have a King,---whom should we prefer to yourself?

“ But when we will to have a King, we do not elect a court too, and all its depravity and perversion; its avarice, venality and oppression are the true sacrifices you must make to your people, to your family; they demand them of your virtues, they expect them from your sagacity.

“ Your Court, and that prostituted bargain it has made with your Ministers, have prolonged this unhappy war; have prolonged it only for their own advantage and impunity, and to involve you in their own danger or ruin.

“ Give up your Ministers to their original insignificance, or to atone the public wrongs and misfortunes, as the Nation may be disposed to punish or despise them. Reign only in the hearts of your people; for no Throne but this can remain in regenerated Europe; despotism may go out with a blaze, but it must be extinguished.

“ They have calumniated a loyal and affectionate people, and they have put a language into your own mouth, which the Nation was unable to believe.

“ They

“ They have endeavoured to lessen our respect and attachment to you, Sir, by making you the organ of their own impositions, and to alienate your heart from us, by making you consider us as disposed to throw off your authority, and dismiss your family from the government.

“ They have published the most unconstitutional doctrines, and acted in the most violent and arbitrary manner; they have pretended plots and insurrections, which had no existence but in their own troubled bosoms, in their own conscious crimes:--- and they have erected a system of treachery, suspicion, denunciation and tyranny, till the most real plots might be carried on in safety:---from the public disbelief and contempt of their assertions the public horror at their violence and artifice.

“ The very means they employ for their defence, are calculated to involve you deeply in their ruin and disgrace, and to accelerate your common destruction. Corruption, and the Court, which is the very den where it feeds and stinks, have undermined the Throne as well as the rest of our establishments, yet they throw fresh offal to the Beast, and strew his cave with blood and spoils, to engage or retain them in their cause.

“ Your people complained of the number of placemen and pensioners, of the holders of sinecures,

and the pluralists of office; yet your Ministers have not been able to provide even for their own immediate impunity, without accumulating and encreasing these causes of complaint.--Those who have advised your Majesty in the exercise of your prerogative of creating Peers, had given great offence to the Nation, by the abuses and the corruption with which these dignities were believed to be conferred; but your Ministers have no resource left to continue themselves in power, and screen themselves from impeachment, but in augmenting and redoubling this abuse; strengthening the forces they can dispose of in either house of Parliament, by gratifying the aristocratical spirit and vanity which is common between both.

“Your people complained of false and calumnious assertions put into your mouth by your Ministers; and they are reduced to support and justify these assertions by the fabrication of plots and conspiracies, more false and more calumnious than these.

“Your people accused your Ministers of stretching your prerogative, and encroaching upon the rights and liberties of England. Desperate of the means of legal defence, they have recourse to the assertion of new and unknown prerogatives, preparing the power in the Crown to land foreign troops in this Kingdom;

Kingdom ; suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and bridling every Town and Borough with barracks.

“ Your people charged your Ministers with a designed and corrupt prodigality in the public expediture, and with an oppressive system of useless taxes and grievous impositions ; and they instantly pass by the great privilege of the House of Commons, and levy benevolences upon your Majesty’s subjects.

“ These contributions, to which if Hampden would have subscribed, your Majesty had never reigned in England, and no Minister could now have been guilty of treason nor any subject innocent ; these contributions have been made the means of dividing and poisoning the public mind ; of setting one half of your subjects in enmity and opposition to the other, and devoting to ministerial calumny and persecution, whoever respected the Constitution of England, or revered, or remembered the example of its Heroes and Martyrs.

“ Remember, Sir, remember the misfortunes of your own reign ; they are of too deep and crimson a stain to be soon effaced from your memory.

— Two hundred thousand souls that perished in that wicked and tyrannous attempt to enslave America ; the loss of those virtuous and powerful States

States, that dreadful schism amongst Englishmen; the wounds of our commerce and marine, the increased strength of our enemies; a hundred millions of debt, the interest of which has since been yearly wrung from the sweat of industry, from the hard hand of poverty and toil;---all these are recorded in the present weakness and dangers of your country; are they effaced from your memory?---are they not legible, in broad and staring characters of shame and misfortune, of misery and ruin?

“ Your Court, Sir, imposed that war upon the infirmity of your temper, and upon the seductions of your vanity and situation.---Your Ministers, at all times unable to oppose or resist this mass of influence and corruption, adopted the eunuch-jealousy of the aristocracy of your Palace. Lord North was not an enemy to liberty; but ignorant of liberty;---and weaker than a man could be, he persecuted it, as eunuchs do a sex which they neither hate nor love:---he became the instrument of those seraglio-slaves, who, dreading to mix and measure themselves with mankind, see neither safety nor enjoyment but in the proud solitude of rank, and the barbarous pride of ostentatious silence and sequestration.

“ Sir,

“ Sir, your evil genius is still at your elbow; there is gone forth a spirit which infects your Councils, and puts false words into the mouths of your advisers. This demon calls himself your friend!---Accursed for ever be the traitor for the insinuating lye, which reflects upon the loyalty of your people, which holds you up to Europe as a weak and despairing Sultan, propped from time to time by the artifices of an intriguing vizir, and your loyal subjects as Janissaries that demand your —, or your —.

“ It is this Devil, this emissary of Hell, that deceives your Councils, that drives you upon the rocks, where we have seen another vessel split, of a bulk and importance, no doubt, as enormous as your own. It is this friend of yours, this enemy of your people; it is he that caught the mantle of Bute, and derived from his own baseness, and the low habits of his life, all the fraud and subtlety, all the pliability and plausibility, all the falsehood and cunning, all the coldness and perseverance, all the indifference to honour and opinion, that are necessary to make a man hateful as well as contemptible; to provoke scorn, as well as horror, to make age irreverent and despicable, and the very grave which awaits him seem an unjust and violable sanctuary that screens him from the common justice and atonement

atonement of mankind. I will not name him, I will not do that injustice to my species, to suspect there is even among your own servants, in your Court, *another* wretch that could divide your opinion, or puzzle your discernment.

“ This man, Sir, has been hateful to your people during thirty years, and not more hateful to your people than to your Ministers themselves; but they are so weak and obedient, so forced to bow and truckle to your Court, that his *honours* have increased with the public execration, and his *emoluments* are equal to every thing but his avarice and his infamy.

“ You, Sir, are the first Englishman of your family; your two predecessors on the throne considered us as foreigners, and they sacrificed our blood with a German stoicism, to their little municipal ambition, and the paltry intrigues of their circles. But I will not recall these acts, which are the shame and dishonour of the nation, as well as the crimes of your predecessors; you, Sir, are an Englishman, and doubtless you think and feel like an Englishman; can you then call back these bloody and reproachful times?---can you hearken yet again to this man's base and perfidious councils, which have already cost you three millions of your subjects, and a mighty Empire in the

the West? Three millions of alienated subjects, and two hundred thousand who are no more? Begin, Sir, begin a new and regenerated reign, by the dismissal of this fiend, who is the bane, the curse, and the shame of your country; this monster, who is the visible head and representative of corruption and your COURT!

“ The misfortunes of our Allies, our nullity and disgrace, the impotence and danger of our armies, their own variable politics and contemptible schemes from Maubenge to Maestricht, and from Dunkirk to Nimeguen, are but the fruitful sources of new frauds and treacheries in your Ministers. Far from feeling shame or repentance, they carry their intrigues and calumnies into your own family, and demand a victim, dearer and nearer to you than those you owe to the nation,

* * * * *

“ The war, Sir, is now become so far from a public or national war, that it is precisely ministerial and personal: The French will not treat with your Ministers, and *therefore* we have war; war, because your servants are base, cruel, and avaricious, and had rather behold the blood of the nation stream, its treasure squandered, its commerce ruined, its very existence threatened and exposed, than resign their places, or meet the justice of their offended country.

E

For

“ For this, Sir, your wavering Allies are still hired and subsidized, and the last resources of this unhappy country expended to procure you feeble or treacherous assistance, from unwilling or exhausted friends. For this the course of victory, the dreadful torrent of ferocity and revenge are guided into England; for this our wives, our infants, our aged parents, our helpless sisters, are exposed to massacres and violation; for this our laws, our hearths, our altars, are threatened by an irresistible and relentless enemy; and the very name of our country to be extinguished in the absorbing vortex of French fraternity and conquest.

“ Perhaps, Sir, you have but few moments to deliberate, the mountain rumbles, a thick smoke issues from its hollow summit; oh, turn the lava from our towns, avert the fiery tide from your trembling England!

“ Give peace to Europe, and your Ministers to the laws, to contempt, insignificance, oblivion, if you will. Save yourself, Sir, and save your country. Be not blinded, Sir, nor intoxicated by the sole real success of this unhappy war;---The victory of Lord Howe, like that of Lord Rodney, must give us peace. If it feeds the fatal flame that fires your Cabinet, and devours your country, the first of June will not be a day of Triumph, but of Tears.

We

We would not treat with Robespierre, the French Republic will not negotiate with *them*. The French Monster is no more; a system of moderation has prevailed, the cruel instrument of so many crimes has almost disappeared, the Republic consolidates itself, and establishes its sovereignty, in mercy, justice, morals. Assist the return of principles and virtues in that lacerated and guilty Empire; call back peace to the bosom of the earth, and commerce to the shores of Britain. Prove by your readiness to desist from violence, and heal the wounds of Europe, that you were not the enemy of their liberty, but of their crimes. The French Monster is no more, he has expiated his ambition, his crimes are atoned. Behold your example---when we have punished our delinquents, there is no obstacle to peace. Robespierre is in the earth, but there crawls upon it a monster that frightens it from our fields---you have a Minister, and we have war.

“Decide, Sir, between your kingdoms and a man---if he may be called one, who is the enemy of his species, who is the daily cause of military massacres, and finds no security for himself but in the shedding of human blood, in extending and perpetuating the misery and destruction of mankind.”

“Such,

Such, I imagine, must be the language of whoever could approach a Prince, and preserve his integrity and understanding; such are the truths which would break from him who should advise a King with fidelity and freedom.

Let us now consider the terms in which such a man would address the people, and the councils he would endeavour to infuse into the public mind.

He would detail the progress of improvement and the developement of ideas, which have extricated us from the feudal labyrinth, and conducted us to that stage of revolution and amendment at which the States of Europe, and more particularly our own, have arrived.

He would distinguish between the causes and the instruments of the past frauds and oppressions, and between those crimes of Governments which have proceeded from the common ignorance and barbarism we have dispelled, and the individual malice and perversion of Ministers and Princes.

He would teach the people that revenge is neither altogether just nor safe, and that it is more
worthy

worthy and more wise to forgive all, but the obstinate and irreclaimable.

He would lead away their ideas from vain and visionary speculations of metaphysical perfection, to the actual and immediate enjoyment of those advantages which the amended state of society presents to them. He would persuade them to purify their old and approved institutions rather than to abandon themselves to new experiments and uncertainties.

“Under our old constitution,” he would say, “before we had the Court and long Parliaments, we were contented and we were free. It is not, therefore, the Constitution, but the Court and long Parliaments, which it is necessary for us to correct and reform.

“Our misfortunes, and those unnecessary Wars, which are our crimes as well as our misfortunes, have not proceeded from Kings but from their Courts; it is not therefore the Monarchy, but the Court, which it is expedient to abolish.

“Under a just King, and with a real Representation in Parliament, we could not be unhappy. Under the worst we could not be long so.

“ Under

“ Under our real Constitution, we could neither be oppressed nor betrayed, nor insulted by Ministers;---it is not, therefore, our business to dismiss, but to recall it.

“ The perfection of our Constitution must make us free and happy; it is not clear that any new one, however specious or brilliant in theory, though reared upon the purest basis of republican virtue, and rational democracy, would do so, because it is not clear that we are able or ready to receive it.

“ It is not clear that we shall advance at all, if we all abandon ourselves to these imaginary and speculative improvements; because we defeat and oppose each other by the variety of our schemes, and the collision of our opinions, because we give the victory to our enemies, by our own want of energy and union. But it is clear that if we all agree to demand only one thing, and that thing our right and a part of our existing constitution, perhaps of our laws, namely a triennial parliament, or in other words the repeal of that act or vote of the first Parliament of George the Ist. (which ever be its true name and description) it is clear,” he would say, “ that we must prevail, because the *expression of our will will overawe* the Parliament, and compell it to rescind that act if it be law, and if it be not, to confess and to depart from its usurpations.” And this he would say, I conceive in these precise terms, without
fear

fear, apology or equivocation; because, it might happen in these guilty and degenerate times that the very sanctuaries of justice might be polluted by the subtle and deleterious fluid that pervades every part of our system, and the maxims and doctrines of the Palace find their way into our Courts of justice, where they might threaten the Lives of individuals, and extinguish by dreadful examples the public freedom, activity and vigour.

He would not condescend to cavil with any man, let his situation be ever so distinguished or dignified, (for there is a dignity in virtue, and a grace in freedom, which no rank nor office can confer) but he would proclaim the people's undoubted right and the fundamental principle of the British Liberty and Constitution.

The pure and genuine voice of truth asserts itself. There is a proud and superintending spirit which guards our reason from the chicanery of talents, and the perversion of the understanding.

“The firm and Majestic expression of the people's will,” he would say, “is the constitutional check upon the weakness or treachery of parliament, and it is so far from being *unconstitutional* or *treasonable* to endeavour to *overawe Parliament* by the *emission of public sentiment*, that it would be the worst of crimes

crimes and *treasons*, for *Parliament* to *disregard* or *resist* it.

There is no source of power but in the people; and no liberty where their will does not overawe and controul those persons to whom they confide it.

If it be treason to overawe Parliament, it is treasonable to express our will together, and our opinion separately; the Press is treason, language is treason; there are no good subjects but idiots and the dumb.

The *power* of the people in every state, is the power of the state in the last resort, but the *will* of the people ought to guide every Government, and to supersede the necessity of exerting it.

The *exercise* of the power of the people is its *physical* strength, and it supposes the change or subversion of Governments: the *expression* of the *will* of the people is its *moral* strength, and it is the sole protection, the only support and security of Governments.

Lawyers,

Lawyers, whose trade it is to perplex and embarrass us in endless folds and plaitts of artful error and brilliant absurdity; what pity ye should ever sit in the seats of justice; what folly to educate our judges in those disgraceful arts, which disguise and disfigure reason, which distort and torture the characters of truth, which disturb the faculties of the human mind, and interrupt the tenour of human knowledge and actions.

How often will you be told that the Constitution of this country is not a bit of antique Parchment, nor a collection of laws or usages; that it is not to be found in volumes or records; that it exists not in Magna Charta, almost inapplicable to our present situation and circumstances, nor in the Habeas Corpus Act, which is ravished and suspended from us? Deliberate dunces, elaborate fools! Do ye not see that the Constitution cannot be antiquated, that it cannot be suspended! These acts, these mouldy charters, your dusty folios, and the bright page of history itself, are but the evidences and the ceremonial law of this Constitution; that visible form under which we enjoy and worship Liberty---Liberty, which, like Religion, exists not in the forms of a Liturgy, but in the spirit and sincerity of Devotion.

F

Oh,

Oh, Liberty! wherever thou existest, in whatever corner of the earth thou hast found a temple, or an asylum, under whatever form, and by whatever name thou art adored, thou art nothing but the power of the people; and Constitutions are nothing but the rites and ceremonies with which they worship or proclaim thee!

Liberty is our power, the power of the people, and the Constitution is the faculty we possess, and the manner of exerting it, to controul and overawe our Governors; who, in every State, and under every sky, are nothing but the Representatives and Trustees of the people. Kings and Sultans, Deputies and Peers only differ in the degree or duration; not in the nature of their power, which is invariably a trust. Power is a delegation at Constantinople as well as at London, and the Janissary that demands the Vizir's head or the Emperor's, only revokes his confidence, according to the usages of a barbarous and ferocious State, *where the will of the nation cannot be expressed in time to overawe the Government*; where oppressions multiply, and patience wears without check or controul, and where the Minister dares to disregard or insult too long the wishes, or the miseries or the understanding of the people!

If it be treason, therefore, in England to emit the public sentiment because it overawes the Parliament; or private censures and opinions, because they controul the errors, or expose the crimes of Ministers, it follows that we have no remedy till we surround the Palace, and no redress but what we must borrow from the fierce example of a Mahometan Militia.

To argue about a Constitution in such a State, in a State where it is treason to overawe the Government by the expression of the people's will, is as idle as to dispute the form of a Sphynx, or a Centaur,---a Phoenix or a Chimera are not more fabulous and unreal than the form of Liberty in such a State.

We possess then a right, an unalienable and imprescriptible right, to express our opinion individually, and our will together; and as every right attaches and reciprocates somewhere, and creates a correspondent duty, it is the duty of our Trustees or Governors, as well the King and the Peers as our more immediate Representatives, to attend to our opinion, and to obey our will. And this they would never fail to do, if we named our own Representatives, and could chuse the hands to which we confided our purses and our liberty; and if the term for which we meant to

confide them had not been violently extended and enlarged without our consent, and in defiance of our rights, to a length of time, for which it is neither safe nor constitutional to dispossess ourselves of a power so important, and so exposed to every temptation of avarice, ambition, and treachery.

The whole history of this troubled and disastrous reign is little more than a minute or entry of the misfortunes which have derived from Long Parliaments, and from the contempt for the people's will and opinion, which Long Parliaments alone can inspire.

Often have we addressed the Crown, and carried our petitions to the foot of the Throne for their dissolution, hoping to accelerate the period when our trust would be restored into our own hands, and our confidence return to our own disposition ! Vain and preposterous expectation ! The very causes for which we demanded their dissolution, had endeared and allied them to the Court---their prodigality and corruption, and even their unpopularity, were so many titles to favour and affection; and whether they violated our fundamental rights in the freedom of elections, or plunged us into civil, or into foreign broils, whether they ravished Liberty, or entailed a hundred mil-

lions

lions of debt upon us, whether they drank our sweat in prodigal and unnecessary Taxes, or spilled our blood in wicked and unnatural Wars; in short whether we complained of their follies or their crimes, of their avarice or their cruelty, their very treachery was itself the rampart they opposed to us, manned with all the engineers of the Court, and planted with the whole artillery of corruption.

It is vain, therefore, and worse than vain, for it is both dangerous and wicked, and fatigues the patience and the virtues of the people, to offer them no other redress but what is to derive from those who are interested and determined to refuse it. We must expect a remedy from our own energy and vigour, and do Justice and Right to ourselves. In Ireland I am not afraid to affirm and foretell that the Court will very shortly be obliged to concede the Reform of Parliament, not to the Petitions of individuals, but to the expression of the people's will, the Parliament will be overawed by the emission of the public sentiment, and it will purify itself at the high bidding of the Nation.

We, too, have no other expectation, no other hope nor chance of amendment, but by the raising of our voices and asserting our own rights. Will a profligate Court become suddenly the friend of liberty and morals? will a mercenary senate purge
itself

itself at once, and put shackles upon its own avarice and corruption?

But before I point out to the people one strong, and I should think infallible resource, which is still in our own hands, which the treachery of our representatives, and the artifices of the aristocracy, have overlooked or forgotten, in the windings and turnings of that elaborate iniquity, which they have entangled liberty and overgrown the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, it will be proper to satisfy the doubts of such of the best designing among us, who may think that Triennial Parliaments are not *all* that we ought to exact from the Court and the Legislature. Who may doubt whether we could reasonably expect, from the simple abrogation of that illegal or questionable act of the 1st. of George 1st, all the redress and amendment which I confess I anticipate from it, and which if I am not miserably mistaken, must flow in a natural stream from this pure and untroubled fountain.

It is necessary to remember that at the Revolution, our Parliaments were triennial; it is necessary to remember that the septennial act was a bold *Innovation*; a dreadful and daring *Revolution*, an act of force as well as fraud, of treachery as well as power, which violated the beauty and simplicity,

city, and deflowered the very virgin honour of the Constitution!

Debauched and corrupted once, it was easy to degrade the prostitute into a bawd; no vice nor guilt, no crime nor stain, but followed and completed the full tints and gradations of infamy:--From *Walpole* the state *Lothario*, that vaunted his seduction, to *Pitt* that doats and hides the ugly wrinkled, disenchanting *Alcina* in his arms: from the South-sea frauds to those of yesterday; from the wars of Hanover to the crusade of Kings; every intermediate act of baseness and iniquity, every successive extension of prerogative, every usurpation upon the people's liberty, or the property of the people, is the prolific offspring of the rape. Our miseries and dishonour, our oppressions and our dangers are the base, but certain family of that original sin.

Septennial Parliaments were entailed upon us by those very men, whom we had elected for three Years only.---They did not blush to ravish our elective franchise from our hands, and elect themselves for four years more; themselves and their successors, the true legitimate inheritors of all their treachery, violence and corruption. *People of England!* had they any right or power, any title or authority, any claim or pretence to do *this act*? It is ours alone to elect,---we have never parted with this dear and invaluable

invaluable right, the very title deeds, and tenure of liberty itself, --- it was ours then, and it is ours yet, for we have never abandoned it, our Fathers could not yield or forfeit it for us, their cowardice or their crimes could not betray or confiscate it for us, nor can we transfer it from our Children. --- Triennial Parliaments are our right, let us assert it, here is liberty, here is reform, here is our safety and protection.

Let us give our suffrages to no candidate who will not swear to vote for the Repeal of that fraudulent and tyrannical Bill.

Let us declare individually, I mean every freeholder in the two Kingdoms; for the members who return themselves, or the aldermen who return whom they are bid, are beneath our notice; let us declare individually at the next general election that we understand our right, that we give our vote and depute our representatives for **THREE YEARS ONLY**. That they have no longer term or lease in our confidence, in the National sovereignty and representation.

Exact from every candidate a solemn Oath, a public solemn act of honour and religion, to vacate his seat at the end of **THREE YEARS**; If the Court should dare to prolong the usurpation;

Let

let us take a bond of individual villainy at least though the common profligacy should elude the condition.---The PENALTY will hang over their heads.

Let us see whether at the expiration of that period they will dare to remain! to usurp our Delegation, when we have recalled it, when the trust is expired, and the bond exigible.

Our Representatives so soon to return and mix again amongst us, distinguished and aristocratized during so short a period from the people which creates them, will be more faithful to our interests, more obedient to our WILL, and more attentive to our opinion; they will not mock our understandings and insult our distresses; they will not dare to register every decree of the Ministry, and sanction every Tax and Loan that the avarice of the Court, or the profligate extravagance of the Cabinet requires of them; they will not dare to plunge us in ambitious and eternal wars against opinion, liberty, or improvement. They will not have the time to forget that they are of the people, that they are men.

All other Amendments will naturally and profusely flow from this beneficent source, our Delegates will soon forbid an individual to elect himself,

to represent himself alone in all the nation, to purchase an annuity in power, and a tenancy for life in the Legislature of Great Britain. They will not long allow one arrogant and upstart family to occupy every department in the Government, and to revel in the spoils of the nation; they will call the Leaches of Administration, the pluralists of office, to account; the Jenkinsons and Dundasses, the Pitts and the Chathams, will render up their extortions, extortions ravished from the people's sweat and blood; the faces of the poor will not be bruised and grinded to furnish pensions and sinecures for the children of our Aristocrats: nurseries will not be founded for the heirs of the public plunder; political infants will not be bribed to sputter Aristocracy and Nonsense in the Commons' House of Parliament, with two thousand pounds a year, imposed upon sweat and tears, upon repining industry, upon famished labour.

People of England! be firm, be prudent, be vigilant, and be not dismayed; our enemies will fall by their own weakness, wickedness, or despair.

They will fall by their cowardice, as well as by their crimes; in the extreme of their own guilt, and in its reaction upon their minds, and upon

upon the publick mind, we shall find the security of Liberty, and the punishment of its enemies.

As the English nation has been found NOT GUILTY of a Conspiracy against its own Laws, Constitution, and Property, as we have been acquitted under the foul charge preferred against us by the malignity of the Ministers ; as the States of Europe, and the Nations that surround us are now convinced, as well as ourselves, of that rancorous hatred towards the people which has induced the Court to asperse, calumniate, and libel us, it is no wonder that it should grow pale, and pause upon the long tenour of its plots. It is no wonder that it should pause and tremble, and postpone the day of reckoning and responsibility. It is no wonder that it should want courage to look us in the face, or in the face of those who should be our Representatives. The eternal prorogations of Parliament have nothing to surprize, and very little to alarm us, for they cannot confess their fears without confessing their iniquity ; and our sole hope of amendment is neither in their love of justice, nor their love of us, but has long consisted in the enormity of the mischief, in the exuberance and redundancy of their guilt.

What might we not expect from the restoration of Triennial Parliaments, and from Representatives of our *own*, if there is something to be looked for from the present? What brilliant vision, what delightful prospect might we not indulge of Improvement, Liberty, and *Peace*, under the happy influence of our real Constitution, if even in the filth and corruption of all our monstrous abuses, in the disorder, decay, and perversion of our crumbling system, we are able to discern some hope or chance of amendment? if we behold our arrogant oppressors stand appalled and aghast before a House of Commons of their own chusing, before a hardened majority of their own accomplices and hirelings?

Six weeks of impunity is all they obtain, though they obtain it by another crime, by immersing deeper into guilt, and approaching nearer to that crisis, beyond which the proteus responsibility, with all its lubricity, evasions, and transformations, cannot escape from our cords.

Six weeks of new errors, of new absurdities and crimes; six weeks of obstinacy and perseverance, under all the old ones: Six weeks of unfortunate war abroad, and more unfortunate prosecutions at home---behold their gains!---behold

hold the stake they play for, and the skill and judgment of their game!

But there is one consideration that arises out of these puerile adjournments of the evil day, which it is necessary and expedient at this time to present to the public; and that is, the reports they occasion, and which are artfully circulated, of *Resignations*, as if *Resignation* were redress, or the cumulation of treachery to the Crown, and personal cowardice, could be accepted as expiation or atonement by the nation! As if to desert the King in the dreadful crisis in which they have plunged his Government, could be received as merit, or as propitiation! Let us remember that they are not to resign, but to be dismissed; that they are not to retire, but to be punished; that they are not to conceal themselves in obscurity or contempt, but to pay the debt they owe to the Constitution they have violated, and to the people they have betrayed and insulted, by a public and a memorable example!

But let us not be diverted from the generous simplicity and magnitude of our object by these ephemeral speculations or occurrences: If *ten* Administrations are to give way before we have accomplished it, the only council I shall ever offer you, is to be upon your guard, and to become neither
the

the dupes of those who give up, nor of those who succeed to them.

If you follow the legal and constitutional measure I have proposed to you, we may dispense with Conventions, Correspondence, and Committees. We must have Reform, and Triennial Parliaments alone can give it. Be United, and be Free!

It is my firm and solemn opinion, that the Public Liberty and the Public Happiness will result from these Councils, if you shall unite to adopt them.---In the truth of honour, in singleness of heart, in the disinterestedness of solitude and concealment, I present them to my Fellow Countrymen, imploring of Heaven so to deal with me and mine, as I conscientiously believe that all the miseries that exist, and all the treasons which are pretended, that the unhappiness of the people, and the dangers of the State, are nothing else but the crimes of the Government; ---that they would all have been averted from our heads, but for the preponderance of the COURT, and the profligacy of the Ministers.---Yes, all the sources of our *seven-mouthed* ruin are hid in the rank wilderness, in the poisonous fog, in the more than Ethiopian darkness of corruption, and the Court; the *Court* which *over-awes the Parliament*, which *overawes the Ministers*,

niffers, which consumes and devours the country, and corrupts and oppresses the people.

I think, as I shall answer it to Heaven, that whatever are the dangers, real or pretended, that threaten our establishments, they derive from the perverseness and hypocrisy of the King's servants, and of his Chief Minister in particular, who first demanded reformation, and that with a factious and intemperate voice, and to an extent and extreme which scarce any good Englishman even now can desire: Who is the author of these Councils if they are bad, and their obstacle, if they are wholesome; who is answerable before God and Man for having recommended, or for having opposed them: who is guilty in both, or cannot be innocent in one of them; who is an enemy to the people, and a grievance to the nation; whose power is the public danger, whose impunity is the public dishonour!

Let us, therefore, without delay, address the Crown to dismiss, and instruct our Representatives to IMPEACH him; let us pave the way for Peace by Justice, and for Reformation by Atonement.

Let them tremble in their turn, the cruel cowards who would drive us to fury by their oppressions, and to madness by their insults, who
expect

expect their vengeance in the impatience of agony, in the murmur of affliction, in the imprudence of despair!

And let *us*, for our own part, bear constantly in mind, amidst the patience and forbearance, which are our necessary virtues, in these unhappy and *un-British* times: That amidst the blessings we may reasonably hope from the Constitutional period of our Parliaments being restored to us, is the certain punishment of wicked and arbitrary Ministers, the vindication of Liberty, and the atonement of the Laws.

Let us be upon our guard against our very virtues, and the best sentiments of our hearts; let us neither expect nor accept even right, and much less reparation, from any hands but those into which the wisdom of our Fathers has distributed the powers of the Kingdom. Let us dictate our will to our Representatives---it will soon become the law, by the forms of our Constitution, by the sanction of every branch of the Legislative Authority.

LONDON, NOV. 24, 1794.



E R R A T A.

Page 14, line 22, for *and*, read *for*.

27, line 25, for *them*, read *him*.

46, line 8, for *which*, read *with which*.

